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is pleased to announce that responses from its policyholders and the public to its request to them to show appreciation of its FORTY YEARS of continuous insurance service, in providing dignified and profitable employment to hundreds of young men and women and in cooperating with all worthy movements and enterprises have been so numerous and satisfactory that it has provided a permanent memento of the celebration of this outstanding event in the form of a booklet, which briefly outlines the salient features of its long years of service, with many other interesting facts and comments from its policyholders and friends.

A copy of this bocklet will be sent by mail or by a representative of the Company to all who make known either to the Home Office or any of its district offices or agencies, the desire to have one.

Southern Aid Society of Virginia, Inc.

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RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Operating in Virginia and the District of Columbia

THE CRISIS

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A Record of the Darker Races

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Editor and Manager

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Yes, sir! We're going in for Peace and Plenty. We're building 37 new ships de-signed to murder human beings with neatness and dispatch. -

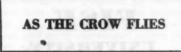
Everybody is explaining what happened at the World Economic Conference. The truth is simple. We planned to cooperate with the world, then changed our minds. Hull was the goat and Moley dished the dirt

Increased prices, increased taxes, in-creased wages and increased muddle all make for decreased something somewhere.

"Timeo Danaos," Cuba and Liberia, bringing arbitration and stealing concessions

Public Utilities still sit high and dry, untaxed, unregulated and charging the dumb public what they will.

We're beginning systematically to fight Racketeering and Kidnapping. We should add to these all methods of extorting something for nothing which include a large section of business and industry not to mention all inheritance.



England is acting with her usual farsighted benevolence toward India and has put Gandhi back in Jail: as if it made any essential difference whether he is in Jail or not.

Why are we making Jobs? Does the nation really mean that there is not enough work in the world? Oh no, there is in fact too much to do, but so little of it can be done with profit. With profit to whom, to workers or to those who decide who shall work and when and on what? To the latter, of course. Then why not get rid of them and end the Depression.

Just who is it that is supposed to toss his hat in the air because wheat and cotton, food and clothes, are rising in price? .

Do you want high prices or low prices? Cheap or dear goods? High or low wages? Not at all. You want food and clothes and happiness. Damn the prices of goods and labor.

THE OCTOBER CRISIS A NEW RACIAL PHILOSOPHY. Essays, comments and reviews touching the present status of Religion among Negroes. THE DANISH FOLK HIGH SCHOOLS AS APPLICABLE TO AMERICAN NEGRO EDUCATION. MUSIC AND SLAVERY. By a German. PAUL ROBESON on "Emperor Jones"

Lucky that the dark prince of Ethiopia arrived after the reign of Herbert I. Otherwise that luncheon would have disrupted official Washington.

Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, has common sense. She demands a wage for Negroes equal to that of whites as the best thing for whites. When we remember Doak, her predecessor, we feel like kneeling in prayer.

What we want to see is a few of the advocates of the "Back to the Land" sentenced to the Georgia farming belt with blackened faces for six good long months. After that we're ready to argue with them cheerfully and to the point.

Nothing has filled us with such unholy glee as Hitler and the Nordics. When the only "inferior" peoples were "niggers" it was hard to get the attention of the New York Times for little matters of race, lynching and mobs. But now that the damned include the owner of the Times, moral indignation is perking up.

THE CRISIS was founded in 1910. It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Ave-nue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Col-ored People. The subscription price is \$1.50 a year or 15c a copy. Foreign subscriptions \$1.75. The date of expiration of each subscrip-tion is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscription may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two

September, 1933

weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while THE Catasts uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879, and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.

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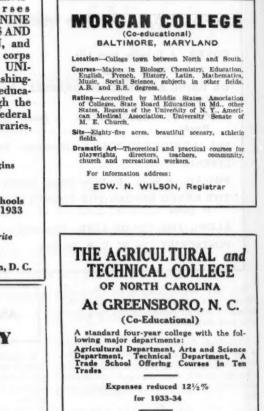
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The Crisis

On Being Ashamed of Oneself

An Essay on Race Pride

Y Grandfather left a passage in his diary expressing his indignation at receiving an invitation to a "Negro" picnic. Alexander Du-Bois, born in the Bahamas, son of Dr. James DuBois of the well-known Du-Bois family of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., had been trained as a gentleman in the Cheshire School of Connecticut, and the implications of a Negro picnic were anathema to his fastidious soul. It meant close association with poverty, ignorance and suppressed and disadvantaged people, dirty and with bad manners.

This was in 1856. Seventy years later, Marcus Garvey discovered that a black skin was in itself a sort of patent to nobility, and that Negroes ought to be proud of themselves and their ancestors, for the same or analogous reasons that made white folk feel superior.

Thus, within the space of threefourths of a century, the pendulum has swung between race pride and race suicide, between attempts to build up a racial ethos and attempts to escape from ourselves. In the years between emancipation and 1900, the theory of escape was dominant. We were, by birth, law and training, American citizens. We were going to escape into the mass of Americans in the same way that the Irish and Scandinavians and even the Italians were beginning to disappear. The process was going to be slower on account of the badge of color; but then, after all, it was not so much the matter of physical assimilation as of spiritual and psychic amalgamation with the American people.

For this reason, we must oppose all segregation and all racial patriotism; we must salute the American flag and sing "Our Country 'Tis of Thee" with devotion and fervor, and we must fight for our rights with long and carefully planned campaign; uniting for this purpose with all sympathetic people, colored and white.

This is still the dominant philosophy of most American Negroes and it is back of the objection to even using a special designation like "Negro" or even "Afro-American" or any such term.

But there are certain practical difficulties connected with this program which are becoming more and more clear today. First of all comes the fact that we are still ashamed of ourselves and are thus estopped from valid objection when white folks are ashamed

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By W. E. B. DuBOIS

to call us human. The reasons of course, are not as emphatic as they were in the case of my grandfather. I remember a colored man, now ex-patriate, who made this discovery in my company, some twenty-five years ago. He was a handsome burning brown, tall, straight and well-educated, and he occupied a position which he had won, across and in spite of the color line. He did not believe in Negroes, for himself or his family, and he planned elaborately to escape the trammels of race. Yet, he had responded to a call for a meeting of colored folk which touched his interests, and he came. He found men of his own calibre and training: he found men charming and companionable. He was thoroughly delighted. I know that never before, or I doubt if ever since, he had been in such congenial company. He could not help mentioning his joy continually and reiterating it.

All colored folk had gone through the same experience, for more and more largely in the last twenty-five years, colored America has discovered itself; has discovered groups of people, association with whom is a poignant joy and despite their ideal of American assimilation, in more and more cases and with more and more determined object they seek each other.

That involves, however, a drawing of class lines inside the Negro race, and it means the emergence of a certain social aristocracy, who by reasons of looks and income, education and contact, form the sort of upper social group which the world has long known and helped to manufacture and preserve. The early basis of this Negro group was simply color and a bald imitation of the white environment. Later, it tended, more and more, to be based on wealth and still more recently on education and social position.

This leaves a mass of untrained and uncultured colored folk and even of trained but ill-mannered people and groups of impoverished workers of whom this upper class of colored Americans are ashamed. They are ashamed both directly and indirectly, just as any richer or better sustained group in a nation is ashamed of those less fortunate and withdraws its skirts from touching them. But more than that, because the upper colored group is desperately afraid of being represented before American whites by this lower group, or being mistaken for them, or being treated as though they were part of it.

they are pushed to the extreme of effort to avoid contact with the poorest classes of Negroes. This exaggerates, at once, the secret shame of being identified with such people and the anomaly of insisting that the physical characteristics of these folk which the upper class shares, are not the stigmata of degradation.

When, therefore, in offense or defense, the leading group of Negroes must make common cause with the masses of their own race, the embarrassment or hesitation becomes apparent. They are embarrassed and indignant because an educated man should be treated as a Negro, and that no Negroes receive credit for social standing. They are ashamed and embarrassed because of the compulsion of being classed with a mass of people over whom they have no real control and whose action they can influence only with difficulty and compromise and with every risk of defeat.

Especially is all natural control over this group difficult-I mean control of law and police, of economic power, of guiding standards and ideals, of news propaganda. On this comes even greater difficulty because of the incompatibility of any action which looks toward racial integrity and race action with previous ideals. What are we really aiming at? The building of a new nation or the integration of a new group into an old nation? The latter has long been our ideal. Must it be changed? Should it be changed? If we seek new group loyalty, new pride of race, new racial integrity-how, where, and by what method shall these things be attained? A new plan must be built up. It cannot be the mere rhodomontade and fatuous propaganda on which Garveyism was based. It has got to be far-sighted planning. It will involve increased segregation and perhaps migration. It will be pounced upon and aided and encouraged by every "niggerhater" in the land.

Moreover, in further comment on all this, it may be pointed out that this is not the day for the experiment of new nations or the emphasis of racial lines. This is, or at least we thought it was, the day of the Inter-nation, of Humanity, and the disappearance of "race" from our vocabulary. Are we American Negroes seeking to move against, or into the face of this fine philosophy? Here then is the real problem, the real new dilemma between rights of American citizens and racial pride, which

faces American Negroes today and which is not always or often clearly faced.

The situation is this: America, in denying equality of rights, of employment and social recognition to American Negroes, has said in the past that the Negro was so far below the average nation in social position, that he could not be recognized until he had developed further. In the answer to this, the Negro has eliminated five-sixths of his illiteracy according to official figures, and greatly increased the number of colored persons who have received education of the higher sort. They still are poor with a large number of delinquents and dependents. Nevertheless, their average situation in this respect has been greatly improved and, on the other hand, the emergence and accomplishment of colored men of ability has been undoubted. Notwithstanding this, the Negro is still a group apart, with almost no social recognition, subject to insult and discrimination, with income and wage far below the average of the nation and the most deliberately exploited industrial class in America. Even trained Negroes have increasing difficulty in making a living sufficient to sustain a civilized standard of life. Particularly in the recent vast economic changes, color discrimination as it now goes on, is going to make it increasingly difficult for the Negro to remain an integral part of the industrial machine or to increase his participation in accordance with his ability.

The integration of industry is making it more and more possible for executives to exercise their judgment in choosing for key positions, persons who can guide the industrial machine, and the exclusion of persons from such positions merely on the basis of race and color or even Negro descent is a widely recognized and easily defended prerogative. All that is necessary for any Christian American gentleman of high position and wide power to say in denying place and promotion to an eligible candidate is: "He is of Negro descent." The answer and excuse is final and all but universally accepted. For this reason, the Negro's opportunity in State directed industry and his opportunity in the great private organization of industry if not actually grow-

- WHILE we went banking visions high away of soul beyond the skies; Believing thieves could not break through
- and steal, our brothers, worldly wise, Were storing mundane treasures up for
- body's pleasure ere it dies.
- And, having bartered off our share of Earth for reveries, we are
- Confounded cleanly of our folly-now our shrewder brethren bar

ing less, is certainly much smaller than his growth in education and ability. Either the industry of the nation in the future is to be conducted by private trusts or by government control. There seems in both to be little or no chance of advancement for the Negro worker, the educated artisan and the educated leader.

On the other hand, organized labor is giving Negroes less recognition today than ever. It has practically excluded them from all the higher lines of skilled work, on railroads, in machine-shops, in manufacture and in the basic industries. In agriculture, where the Negro has theoretically the largest opportunity, he is excluded from successful participation, not only by conditions common to all farmers, but by special conditions due to lynching, lawlessness, disfranchisement and social degradation.

Facing these indisputable facts, there is on the part of the leaders of public opinion in America, no effective response to our agitation or organized propaganda. Our advance in the last quarter century has been in segregated, racially integrated institutions and efforts and not in effective entrance into American national life. In Negro churches, Negro schools, Negro colleges, Negro business and Negro art and literature our advance has been determined and inspiring; but in industry, general professional careers and national life, we have fought battle after battle and lost more often than we have won. There seems no hope that America in our day will yield in its color or race hatred any substantial ground and we have no physical nor economic power, nor any alliance with other social or economic classes that will force compliance with decent civilized ideals in Church, State, industry or art.

The next step, then, is certainly one on the part of the Negro and it involves group action. It involves the organization of intelligent and earnest people of Negro descent for their preservation and advancement in America, in the West Indies and in Africa; and no sentimental distaste for racial or national unity can be allowed to hold them back from a step which sheer necessity demands.

A new organized group action along economic lines, guided by intelligence

A Song of Desperation

BY JONATHAN HENDERSON BROOKS

- Portals of hope to us and bid us rue an ever falling star.
- The gods eschew their old benevolence and leave us into fate
- To wallow and forevermore be damned ! or try and extricate
- Ourselves. (Ah, shall we acquiesce in this consuming world of hate?)
- It was not so at any time the hoary annals of men recall-

and with the express object of making it possible for Negroes to earn a better living and, therefore, more effectively to support agencies for social uplift, is without the slightest doubt the next step. It will involve no opposition from white America because they do not believe we can accomplish it. They expect always to be able to crush, insult, ignore and exploit 12,000,000 individual Negroes without intelligent organized opposition. This organization is going to involve deliberate propaganda for race pride. That is, it is going to start out by convincing American Negroes that there is no reason for their being ashamed of themselves; that their record is one which should make them proud; that their history in Africa and the world is a history of effort, success and trial, comparable with that of any other people.

Such measured statements can, and will be exaggerated. There will be those who will want to say that the black race is the first and greatest of races, that its accomplishments are most extraordinary, that its desert is most obvious and its mistakes negligible. This is the kind of talk we hear from people with the superiority complex among the white and the yellow race.

We cannot entirely escape it, since it is just as true, and just as false as such statements among other races; but we can use intelligence in modifying and restraining it. We can refuse deliberately to lie about our history, while at the same time taking just pride in Nefertari, Askia, Moshesh, Toussaint and Frederick Douglass, and testing and encouraging belief in our own ability by organized economic and social action.

There is no other way; let us not be deceived. American Negroes will be beaten into submission and degradation if they merely wait unorganized to find some place voluntarily given them in the new reconstruction of the economic world. They must themselves force their race into the new economic set-up and bring with them the millions of West Indians and Africans by peaceful organization for normative action or else drift into greater poverty, greater crime, greater helplessness until there is no resort but the last red alternative of revolt, revenge and war.

That to the passive or the dumb ones may great puissance befall;

Lord, we grow bitter waiting for a time never to come at all!

We have been loving long enough to warn against a futile ache:

Though love is very kind and suffers long, it cannot always take;

There is a crucial point of tension where enduring love must break!

The Crisis

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Ira Aldridge in Russia

By SERGIUS KARA-MOURZA

THE Russian theatrical public esteems William Shakespeare more than all other dramatists of the

world. Hamlet, Othello, King Lear, Macbeth and other works of the great English poet are the most beloved plays of the Russian spectator. Therefore, when in the middle of the past century, news was published in Russian journals and magazines, of the arrival of a new tragedian in England, a Negro, Ira Aldridge, who played excellently the heroes of Shakespeare, he was immediately invited to appear in Russia. Aldridge consented to come.

First he visited Riga and was received with great hospitality by the local administration. A valuable present was given him by the governorgeneral, the Prince Soovoroff, but these barons of the Baltic, amateurs of bombastic declamation, found Aldridge's playing too natural to please them. Such divergence from the opinion of the European press inflamed more strongly the curiosity and interest of Russian audiences, and Aldridge was awaited with great impatience.

In November of the year 1858, Aldridge was in St. Petersburg and made his first appearance in the Thea-tre-Circus as Othello on November 10th. He played with a German company. After the performance, the public came to kiss his hands, his noble black hands. Aldridge had arrived to us with the aureol of his European glory, after great success in London, Dublin, Berlin, Brussels, Achen, Frank-fort, Cologne, Bonn, Buda-Pest and other cities. His arrival had been preceded by articles and fragments of his interesting biography. He was of royal origin. His grandfather was a prince of one of the Fula Negro tribes of Senegal on the western coast of Africa, and prepared Ira for an ecclesiastical profession but the youth was attracted to poetry and dramatic art. He married a charming English lady, of the county of Berks, the daughter of a lord and member of Parliament.

A man of wide European education, Aldridge had defended a latin dissertation in Glasgow University for which he received a gold medal. He had given scholarly speeches in English on Shakespeare, Schiller and Goethe in Buda-Pest, and leaving Berlin, he had read verses of his own. For his acting he had been given the most varied honors, having been solemnly addressed from the Lower House of San Domingo and granted the rank of President's Adjutant.

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The wife of Aldridge, who had fal-September, 1933

Drawing of Ira Aldridge by his poet-friend, Caras Shevtchenko of the Ukraine

len in love with him when he was playing *Othello*, accompanied him on his journeys and witnessed his many triumphs. Their son had a coarse-lined face like the father's, but he was white with light-coloured hair.

Aldridge was received in Petersburg with welcome. The Russian public saw in him a representative of an oppressed black race, and endeavoured to show him its hearty sympathy. He often visited the president of the Academy of Arts, the earl Theodore Tolstoy, the distinguisned artist-medal-list. The actor was beloved for his sincerity and kindness, for his unconcerned and confiding temper. He brought poetry and warmth into the friendly circle of Tolstoy and his daughters whom he taught. At the home of Tolstoy, Aldridge met and associated intimately with the genial poet of the Ukraine, Caras Shevtchenko who was out of favor with the imperial government and who was exiled to the North. Aldridge and Shevtchenko whose lives were so similar developed a deep fellow-feeling for one another. One was in youth a bondsman peasant; the other belonged to an oppressed nation. Both underwent during their lives much that was bitter, sorrowful and offensive and both loved their unfortunate nations. The Russian artist Pasternak immortalized the friendship of these remarkable men. Shevtchenko was also an artist and drew the portrait of Ira. The original is in Moscow in the rich National Gallery.

Contemporaries recount that Aldridge had a restless temper and could not pose quietly for the artist; as a model, the actor stirred, got up and walked about and made the artist angry. In order to divert himself he would sing Negro melodies, at first, touching and melancholy songs; then they became lively and were at last ended with a giddy dance in the middle of the workshop. Sometimes, he played comic scenes for his friend. All the critics found that Aldridge was a genial tragedian who possessed great comic talent. Shevtchenko sang for him in his turn melodies of the Ukraine.

Aldridge was a bewitching man; hé was kind, affable and good to all men, particularly to children. He loved to play with them, not leaving them even for dinner. In the theatre he was very modest and praised sincerely Russian actors, seeking their merits. In times of difficulty he helped them. Fearing that ignorance of English might embarrass Russian actors, he devised signals and gestures, cues that would help them. For him, they felt a deep esteem and cooperated to make the play successful.

Generally, Aldridge was very popular in Russia. Notwithstanding his passionate African temper he was reticent in his behaviour and had great dignity. He was not handsome, but the lines of his face expressed great intellect and energy and the live piaying of its muscles gave him charm and enchantment.

The repertoire of Aldridge's plays was: Othello, King Lear, Macbeth, Shylock, Richard III, The Padlock, a Spanish comedy of Bickerstaff, in which the hero is a Negro, Moongo, a naive Gipsy bondsman who creates with ingenious roguery a series of diverting comic situations. In this piece Ira sang droll couplets and evoked applause and laughter. Sometimes he sang a Russian song. At one feast where he sang with all the peculiarities of Russian popular singing he was required to repeat the singing ten times by the audience.

Aldridge played the role of Othello without painting his face; in the other roles he painted his face white.

In Petersburg the actor had great success. With each performance his triumph increased and he won greater sympathy. At his benefit night, he was received with a burst of admiration mingled with applause, cries, stamping and pounding with chairs.

Never had the Russian public seen such unrestrained escstasy in the theatre. Aldridge was presented with a gold bracelet with the inscription: "Russian actors to Ira Aldridge, the great portrayer of Shakespeare." He was also presented with a laudatory poem by the distinguished Russian poet, Apollon Greegorieff, and with garlands and bouquets.

Aldridge had his greatest success, not in the role of *Othello*, but in *Macbeth*. For a splendid capacity to affect deeply in tragedy and to amuse in comedy, Aldridge was compared with the illustrious English actor Garrick. One author compared the playing of Aldridge with the most grandiose scene in nature she had witnessed, the waterfall at Niagara.

From Petersburg, Aldridge came to Moscow where he played with the same success. As he was the friend of Tolstoy and Shevtchenko in Petersburg, he was associated in Moscow with two great Russian actors, Uschep-kin and Sadavsky. He often visited the home of Uschepkin. Surrounded with a spacious old garden, he loved the patriarchal household of Uschepkin's family and he was liked by them for the simplicity of his manners. He took upon his knees the granddaughter of Uschepkin and paid her English compliments which she did not understand but she smiled looking into the pleasant face of the "black uncle."

He became acquainted with the distinguished actor Sadovsky in the Actor's Club. A translator desiring to help them was sent away by Sadovsky who did not desire his services. Wine was served and for a long time, the two actors sat together without talking. They clashed glasses after each

goblet, sighed deeply, smiled and shook hands. In the deep night they got up, kissed one another three times and went away. And thus, after each performance they had supper together. Aldridge was a tragic actor; Sadovsky was a comic one. When Sadovsky was asked if he liked his new acquaintance, he answered: "An excellent man, with a kind soul and he is not talkative. I like him very much."

In Moscow, Aldridge repeated the plays he had given in Petersburg. From Moscow he went to Rybinsk where he played in the Market-theatre, an old warehouse with oil lamps. After the play, a banquet was arranged in honor of the illustrious actor. On the table were sturgeons, ducks, geese, cold and roasted porkers and different brandies and wines. Aldridge made a speech translated by a secretary. The impressario flattered with the presence of the eminent guest regaled Aldridge so abundantly that he almost died. At night in the hotel Ira felt spasms of the stomach and lost consciousness. Physicians were immediately summoned. At this time Rybinsk was ravaged with cholera and death was dreaded. However, Ira recovered and appeared in his next play King Lear.

When Aldridge was visiting Kyev, Odessa, and Russian towns like Restovon-Don, spectators came to his performances from Novotcherkask, Uaganrog, and other near towns.

Ira Aldridge arrived in Russia for a second time in six years in 1864 and in small and large towns was received with joy as an old acquaintance. He visited Russia a third time in 1867 but this visit was fatal to him. He had stopped for some days in the town of Lodz, Poland, on his way from Paris to

Petersburg, and was invited by a German theatre to give three plays. During the traveling, the actor had not been well and in Lodz, he became seriously ill. A tumor had formed on his breast, of a malign character, which in two days led him to the grave. Notwithstanding the most energetic measures taken by the best physicians of Lodz, Aldridge was not saved. He died at the age of 59 and was buried in the evangelical cemetery of Lodz. His funeral was solemn and elaborate. All of the town's inhabitants escorted the coffin and among their number were the garrison and the President of the town. th

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All theatrical Russia and particularly the artists' families bewailed the death of this most excellent man and genial actor, who gave to Russian audiences so many delightful moments and to Russian actors so much inspiration. Regrettably, we cannot give a detailed analysis by his contemporaries of the interpretation of each role played by Aldridge. We will say something of his acting. By unanimous estimate of all his critics, Aldridge had unusual nobleness in his step and in his manners; a fascinating diction and perfect knowledge of the play; a velvet mildness and pliancy in all his motions. A classic quiet and a complete but modest self-confidence distinguished him. His acting was cultured, deliberate, vigorous and his knowledge of his audiences, captivated them. His diction was astonishingly distinct; when he whispered on the stage, he was heard in the most distant corners of the hall. His mimicry was expressive; his gestures, gusty, elastic and graceful. He sometimes clasped his hands, raised them over his head and expressed tenderly and submissively a prayer for compassion, a prayer of mercy.

A COMMITTEE of American citizens representing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Howard University; the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History; the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the International Council of Women of the Darker Races presented to the Acting Secretary of State who is a nephew of Wendel Phillips, the following statement, which is here published with minor verbal changes.

The present crisis in the world is due in no small degree to its attitude toward the colored peoples. The darker world has long been convinced that it is being used and exploited by Europe Liberia

and America for the benefit and power and luxury of white folk and at the expense of poverty and slavery for yellow, brown and black.

Particularly among black people of the United States of America the paradox and anomaly of their present situation is facing them with increased perplexity. We had last year distributed among the colleges of America twentythree thousand Negroes of full college grade, and of these 2,250 received their first degree in arts. This body of trained knowledge and vision has been increasing in the past ten years and will increase even faster in the future. When these young men and women look around them in the United States. they find no increase of opportunity and no essential softening of deep-seated racial prejudice.

But they are especially astounded and embittered when they see in the whole white world and in its attitude toward self-determination and opportunities for development among colored peoples and particularly among Negroes, a disposition to shut the gates of opportunity and reduce every colored country where possible to complete vassalage to white countries.

Here we see no "New Deal." Continually the old method is renewed: loaning money to small countries, encouraging them to buy and spend beyond their ability to pay, finding or inventing some moral excuse for intervention, and then taking charge of

The Crisis

the country in the name of some white country and in the interest of commercial organizations whose chief and only object is profit. Black America believes that this is what took place in Haiti; that with the excuse of putting down disorder and increasing the military and naval protection of the United States, we overthrew an independent government which had never defaulted on its debts and whose attitude toward foreign nations had been impeccable; and then, we saiddled upon that country a debt so huge, a recognition of pretended obligations and contracts so vast, that the country is bound to be in economic slavery to the United States for indefinite length of time.

Now, in Liberia we see the same process incubating. We know perfectly well the wish and design of France, England. and Belgium that no independent government should exist on the West Coast of Africa. They regard this as a menace to white superiority and to perfect capitalistic exploitation. In the past France and England have tried every possible injustice by way of loans, intrigue and brute force to overthrow the government of Liberia. to curtail its territory, and to discredit it in the eyes of the civilized world. The propaganda that has deliberately distorted the fine and creditable efforts of this little land to become an independent refuge of the Negro race is directly traceable to these sources.

And now comes America with the same technique, the same propaganda, the same attempt on the part of a great corporation to disrupt and overthrow this government of black folk.

We would not be so sure of our ground if we took simply the *ex parte* statement of Liberia. But the testimony upon which we rely is the open and frank criticism of the Committee of the Council of the League of Nations.

First of all, it is clear and indisputable that the loan agreement between the Finance Corporation and Liberia was fraudulent from the beginning, and that Liberia understood and insisted, and was induced to sign the agreement only because of the understanding that the company which was securing the concessions would not be the body that was making the loan; that this seemed to Liberia and to us and to all disinterested persons, an essential and fundamental thing.

The Committee of the Council of the League of Nations, individually and collectively, has added to the criticism of this loan agreement. It has been pronounced "evil" and neither good for the welfare of Liberia "nor the general welfare of the world." The unfairness of its details has been stressed; the unlimited powers to seize land, the

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ridiculous rental of six cents an acre a year, the pitiably low tax paid by the corporation. and the arrangements by which Liberia was to furnish labor to the Firestones under conditions which one of the experts openly called "slavery."

It is to us astonishing that the very labor conditions in the hinterland of Liberia which rightly have called for the criticism of the civilised world and which (according to the report of the experts), Liberia is making every effort to remedy,—that this labor system is the one upon which the Firestone Corporation depended for its own labor, and that apparently for this contradictory reason we are now seeking to put Liberia into the hands of the Firestones.

The United States Secretary of State has said publicly the Firestone interests have "no immediate connection with the present problem." And yet, today, openly and with scarcely veiled excuse, it is the Firestone interests who are negotiating with the League of Nations for the reorganization of Liberia. It is these interests who, we firmly believe, are determined to dictate the Chief Adviser of Liberia, who will be its real ruler. It is these interests who are dictating a budget for Liberia nearly twice the size of its revenues, and dividing it so that \$300,000 goes to the expenses of the Liberian Government and \$433,-000 to pay for loans and "assistance" and not a cent for education; and that the extra money for this budget is to be found by further loans and further plunging of Liberia into endless indebtedness to a private corporation, backed by the United States Government.

In the official report of the meeting of the Committee of the League of Nations which adopted this extraordinary pronouncement the case of Liberia has been allowed no adequate statement.

This last meeting differed noticeably from previous ones: It was so hurriedly convened that only minor officials of most of the governments could attend. Most of these knew nothing of the controversy and one had never heard of Liberia and did not know where it was. The leaders from France and England who did know were suddenly silent. Lord Cecil, who in the past had commented severely upon the Firestones, was almost dumb, and the matter was rushed through with every apparent pressure from the United States Government.

We solemnly protest against this procedure, against its details, against its sudden haste. The two years of delay in the past have been caused entirely by the Firestone interests and the United

States Government. Today, we ask for further delay until justice and right and knowledge can take the place of profit, force, and propaganda.

We ask the good offices of the United States Government in the following matters:

First, That the present wording of the proposal which gives it the character of an ultimatum, be changed and that we do Liberia the courtesy of waiting for her complete answer and for further knowledge of the situation before final decisions are made.

Second, That the Government recognize the present regime in Liberia in order that the anamolous situation under which negotiations are now being conducted, be ended.

Third, We are especially disturbed because of the lack of provision in the proposed budget of funds for the state control of education in Liberia. We have too often seen missionary enterprise as the hand-maiden of capitalistic and imperialistic designs and we are sure that the Christian people of America will not wish to supplant Government education by Church education in Liberia any more than in the United States.

Fourth, We regard it imperative that the Chief Adviser shall be a man who is acceptable to the Liberian Government. It would be unthinkable that a representative of American investment should be made dictator of Liberia and virtually supplant the independence of its Government.

Finally, We point out that the United States, under the Roosevelt administration, is definitely giving the world the impression that it has no intention to participate in the exploitation of disadvantaged peoples in any way. We consider it to be of utmost importance that this impression be sustained in the case of Liberia.

We submit that the complex circumstances which place the United States in the position of helping to administer the political affairs of Liberia, while Mr. Firestone is not only in possession of an unparalleled concession in the matter of land, but in possession of effective control of the finances of the Government, will make it almost impossible for the United States to give a demonstration of disinterested helpfulness under these circumstances. We urge, therefore, that the State Department use its good offices to disassociate Mr. Firestone from his control over the Government of Liberia. We believe that the judgment expressed by a member of the League of Nations' Committee that this symbiosis is not only dangerous to the Government of Liberia but to the Governments of the world, is sound and should not be disregarded.

"Powah"

A Story of the South By WILEY EDISON DANIELS

"THE South inflicts two kinds of lynching upon the Negro, rather, one kind is inflicted upon him by whites; this kind is sudden and sure even though it is physically painful. The second kind is not so painful physically. It gnaws the soul like the rope about the neck. It is born of malice, envy and deceit. Negroes inflict it upon each other." So Bob had said. Kenneth Ashburton Yates, called "Kay" by his crowd had received the Master's degree from the University in June. In September he had announced to the gang: "I am going South next week to get the low down of the lynching business." How they had ragged him!

"Oh yeah," said Gladyse nonchalantly --Gladyse was making a study of Chicago's underprivileged via an Urban League scholarship. "Do tell," yawned Agnes, just up from Atlanta and paying her own way while doing work for the Ph.D. in English.

Studious George Douglas had remarked in his usual unaffected manner: "My dear boy, there's no 'low down' to lynching; they just hang you high from the end of a rope."

Mildred, of the girls' work department, Michigan Avenue "Y," had continued to strum on her banjo while saying : "Sure, a good study of the lynching situation invokes a triple feeling, tight, sticky, soft—oh you know rope, tar, feathers."

Kay had heard much concerning the South from his father. In fact, he had been born in the South, but since his parents had moved to Ohio when he was only a few months old, his more intimate knowledge of it had been acquired from reading books and papers. While the harangue lasted, he smoked. When the last one had spoken he knocked the ashes out of his pipe and walked away. At the door he said, "T'll be leaving next Friday."

The gang gave a party to send him off and he left the following Friday amid the plaudits, prayers, tears, and jeers of that jolly, studious bunch with whom he had associated himself for nearly six years. As the train pulled out of the Twelfth Street station and the many shouts of "Goodbye Kay," "Luck, old top," and "See you in the papers" came to his ears from the platform lessening for the moment the sound of the usual whir of the afternoon traffic, a feeling of uncomfortable

dread began to steal over him; but he had said he was going, and, well, he was going. For the first ten minutes of his ride his thoughts were lost in a jungle of emotions; that saying of Bob's-what was it? Robert Drew had been Kay's roommate for five years. How they had roughed it together! In another nine months Bob would take his Master's degree also. Good old Bob! That morning while he was packing, Bob had said a curious thing, a sensible thing, perhaps, if he could but remember. So ran his thoughts. A sudden scream of the whistle called him out of his reverie. The train was coming into Joliet. At the station Kay bought an evening paper; then for over an hour as the train sped on, he read; later the beauty of the rolling countryside through which he was passing intrigued him into gazing intently from the window.

A white girl sharing his seat asked the loan of his paper. He gave it to her without looking up. "Stupid route this C. & A. from Chicago to St. Louis," he thought; but oh well the gang had said that: "Any route south is the wrong route." Perhaps so; he'd see. Fine bunch that gang. Great days together. Wonder what his father would think of him now, going back to a South he didn't remember to make an important study. Great man, his father; died while he was still in High School. High school at Cleveland, and College in Chicago! That's what his father had always wanted for him, and he and his mother had accomplished it somehowhe and his mother and oh, yes, Bob. "Now what was it Bob had said?" In the hurry to pack and leave, it had escaped him until now. Standing by his side as he closed his trunk that morning, Bob had said in his husky, serious voice : "Now that's done, old man; you're headed South and your trunk's closed. I hope your opportunities are not closed also. You'll only be South for a while looking on, studying lynching but, fellow, there'll be lynching down there that you'll never notice: injustices heaped on youngsters eager and ambitious just as you are. And strange these lynchings will not be inflicted with rope or fagot. You'll be in the midst of it; but being only an observer of the strictly obvious, these will escape you." He had started to speak but Bob had continued: "Of course you'll be taking Dowd and White and Herskovitz along to guide

you but here's a bit of Drew for you: The South inflicts two kinds of lynching upon the Negro—rather one kind is inflicted upon him by whites; this kind is sudden and sure even though it is physically painful. The second kind is not so painful physically. It gnaws the soul like the rope about the neck. It is born of malice, envy, and deceit. Negroes inflict it upon each other." "Say, Mr. Drew,"—Kay had said:— "will you kindly assist me in getting this trunk into the hall?" No more talk. Later the gang, the train, the goodbyes. It kept coming up in his mind now though, "What had Bob meant?" yo

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Again he gazed out of the window. The girl in the seat with him rested her head so that it touched his shoulder. Kay took no notice. Two scowling whites, southerners, flushed red. Sleep. The whir of wheels. Dreams-that idea of Drew's: "Two kinds of Lynching." Morning. St. Louis. Breakfast in the Union Station. The Frisco for Memphis at nine. The separate coachno necessity for whites to scowl now. The patronizing air of the conductor, the arrogance of the combination brakeman, porter, both white. Long miles of Missouri farms, the stuffy coach, Indian Summer heat, the nondescript fellow passengers, the old lady who per-sisted in calling him "professor." Arkansas. The long delay at a small station. "Waiting on the limited?" called the brakeman passing through. Dinner in a dirty cook shop. Walking up and down in front of the Colored waiting room. The curious staring crowd. Smells. The feeling that the sign "Colored" over the doorway of the station gave him. The limited at last! Again riding—Bob's lengthy dictum: "Two kinds of Lynching." Six o'clock —not long now. Memphis. Supper in The Grand Central-A hotel bedroom on Beale Street, the cry of the newsboy on the sidewalk beneath: "Oh, read about it; read about it. Police use bloodhounds to hunt desp'rit Negro. Oh read-about it." Bed. Troubled sleep--"Two kinds of Lynching." "Drat that idea of Bob's." Kay had arrived South to study Lynching.

Next morning on opening the gifts from the gang he found a rope from George, a bundle of feathers from Mildred, a can of tar from Gladyse and a card on which was written: "Furnish your own; be independent."

In the months that followed, Kay felt his way cautiously, seeing, learning, responding to the exotic urge of black life in the South. Memphis was just the place for a temporary center of operations. Railroads which penetrated the deepest South enabled him to return there often. Long rides into rural Tennessee, Arkansas, and upper Mississippi. Sights. Studying. Black farmers aging early, singing in spite of it all. Black women with mulatto babies. L'idee fixé. "The low down on this lynching business," always that saying of Bob's: "Two kinds of Lynching."

His reports to the Board which was financing his study became voluminous; he was beginning to fulfill his mission, was he? "You'll be in the midst of it. Only an observer of the strictly obvious."

Society, Fraternity brothers from Fisk, Morehouse, and Talladega youngsters who lived South and liked it. Beautiful sorors, college atmosphere, cultured people sweltering in early November talking about plays, laughing at tragedy, whither bound?

Riding with Jonas Shivers into the open country. Jonas was an Arkansas farm agent whose wife lived and worked in Memphis. A place called Crossed Tree. A lynching. Blood thirsty men. White women who fainted at the wound of a mouse demanding a toe for a keepsake. "Why was that man lynched?" "Caught with a white girl walking hand in hand." No matter if they had done this since childhood—the man and the girl, no matter. The smell of blood, human blood! And they sent missionaries to China! Civilization!—a travesty on what?

Through long weeks his friendship with Jonas continued. They took longer rides into forlorn places. Farm Loan Problems. White men getting money from the Government's Farm Board by using black men's names; nothing done about it. Fights. Sheriff's dogs looking for desperate Negro who struck white gin operator; suppose the truth of the matter was that the Negro refused to sign his name to a check made payable to him from the Farm Board. Suppose it was, who cared? "The low down of this lynching business." Red propaganda, smoke screen behind which white thievery hid itself, a peonage farm!

Birmingham intrigued him. The utter cock-sureness of his people there was amusing. He studied them slyly. More society. Strivers row. Twelve hundred a year incomes doing double duty. Big churches in debt. Fine cars owned in conjunction by the user and several finance companies. "Civic loyalty, so much balderdash," Kay thought.

Riding again. Rural Alabama. A place called Scottsboro. "So this is it, eh?" "Well, no wonder!" White man selling Negro's mule to buy a radio for himself. Took it for debt," he told the court. What if the Negro had never seen the man before; what of it? "The low down on this lynching business."

Ten thousand people at a foot ball game. Gayety! Dances. Tired looks on faces. Sidewalks of an Alabama town. Queer people! Smells. Mary, the woman who kept the hotel. His wonder at her whiteness; questioning her. "Say, listen wise guy, I don't get your game a-tall, but, get this straight, if I got any nigger people I don't know it, see? I just took up living with niggers cause they shoot straight, see? Any how the white men done messed them up so they can't tell the difference. Another cup of coffee?"

Another cup of coffee?" Fall, Winter, Spring, enchanting Southern Spring. The miles he had travelled! The things he had learned. Spring in New Orleans. People. Motley assortment. More society. More striving. Less prejudice in New Orleans; wondering why? Riding into the parishes, white girls waved from the roadside. "Lynching, eh?" "Charles Dawson! Well, of all

"Charles Dawson! Well, of all things!" Dawson had left the University two years before, M. A. in Sociology. Back South doing what? "Yo ho, Charles." The fraternity clasp; telling Charles his mission South.

It developed that Dawson was the principal of the Colored High School. "Twelve teachers now, old man; only six when I came." Lingering on to be with Charles. Writing reports. Deacon Brown of Pleasant Hill Baptist Church. Something an old man had said concerning him:

"Yas, suh, dat am Deacon Brown of the Pleasant Hill Baptist Church. He is a powah in this place—yas suh, a powah. White folks take his word for or agin any nigger, yas suh."

"Sure?"

"Yas, suh, he knowed more'n any other nigger bout when the Klu Klux gone to grab somebody, yas suh; he a powah."

Meeting Deacon Brown. Noting his pompous air, his sly smile, encouraging him to talk about himself.

"Young man, I've been in this town longer than any other colored man."

"That's fine deacon, just fine."

"I can twist these white people here about my little finger. I runs the biggest sugar plantation in these parts and banks more money than any man in this town, white or colored. Have a Cigar?" Smoking. Listening.

"Yes, sir, I am a powah in this town; when ever I likes a man I puts him yonder; when I don't, well.... Match?" Silence. "Know this fellow Dawson?"

"Rather well," Kay had answered. "Knew him at the University. Smart chap."

"There's such a thing as a fellow being too smart. Came here from New Orleans; got the people asking the City for new school buildings, more teachers and all of that, what for? Trying to be like the white folks as I sees it. T'want pay in the South. No, sir."

"How many teachers do they have here, sir?" "Twelve. More than they have at—College."

Not having heard of such a College, Kay had asked innocently between long puffs on his cigar:

"Where is that?"

"Up the way a bit. Went there myself when I was a kid. Sent me away though before I finished High School. I was some pumpkin with the girls." The deacon chuckled reminiscently.

The deacon chuckled reminiscently. "I'll bet you were," said Kay encouragingly. More smoke.

"You see, young man, it make no difference what they do to a fellow. If he gets to be a powah, he can lick em."

"You licked em, I am sure. How?" "Oh, sort of easy like. Got enough of their notes to demand a show down. Made em put me on the trustee board. 'Pretty s' on I had 'em giving me all kind of degrees: A. B., A. M., LL. D." More laughter. "Even degrees come easy when you're a power," agreed Kay pointedly.

"You bet, ain't nothing I can't get if I want it bad enough. No, sir, I am a powah, see?"

Louisiana parishes all of April. "Lynchings, eh?" Statistics showed four for the year; he himself knew of twenty others. Again New Orleans. Spring wantonly lingering in the lap of Winter, now going forward, now receding. Rampart street. More women. Men of all nations. Sex. Parish Prison for those who couldn't pay for protection. "Lynching, eh?" South. Democracy! Tommy rot! More reports. The upper strata. College Track Meets. Fun.

May. His work almost finished. The exotic something about all of the South held him vise-like. White schoolmates meeting him on the streets. Effusive friendliness. Back street resturants serving white and colored. Inconsistencies of color bars! Working. Thinking. Drew's parting words! "Two kinds of Lynching."

Kay packed hurriedly on his last day in the South. Four days now. June. Chicago. North River. Wrigley's. The Polly Tea Room, in the basement where he once washed dishes. Bob and Agnes getting degrees. "That old gang of mine." Kay whistled. Four days.

When Kenneth Ashburton Yates en-(Will you please turn to page 214)

The Negro Before the Courts During 1932

By HARRY H. JONES, West Virginia Bar

URING 1932, court reports disclose that eight cases affecting the Negro's status were decided by appellate courts. Six cases involved the construction and application of the Fourteenth Amendment. In the three following cases, Texas Negroes challenged the constitutionality of a statute empowering political parties to prescribe the qualifications of their members to participate in party primaries: Nixon v. Condon, 286 U. S. 73; County Democratic Executive Committee v. Booker, (Tex. Civ. App.) 53 S. W. 123, and White v. County Democratic Executive Committee (D. C. Tex.) 60 F. (2d) 973. The remaining cases were: Powell v. Alabama, or more generally known as "The Scottsboro Case," 287 U. S. 45, involving due process in a capital offense; Downer v. Dunaway (D. C. Ga.), I F. Supp. 1001, raising the issue of due process in a criminal trial dominated by a mob; Lee v. State (Md.) 161, dealing with exclusion of Negroes from a jury; State v. Lewis, 175 La. 696, 144 S. 423, and State v. Jones, 203 N. C. 377, 166 S. E. concerning the alleged use of the "third degree"

Nixon v. Condon grew out of Nixon v. Herndon, 273 U. S. 536, in which the Supreme Court held that a state statute barring Negroes from voting in primary elections violated the consti-tutional guaranty of the Fourteenth Amendment. Following this decision, the Texas Legislature passed a statute authorizing political parties to prescribe the qualifications of their members. Pursuant thereto, the Texas Democratic State Executive Committee resolved to limit participation in its primaries to white voters. Nixon, a colored man, challenged this action, and although defeated in the two lower branches of the Federal courts, appealed to the Supreme Court, where by a vote of five to four, that court reversed the judgment below. Mr. Justice Cardozo, speaking for the majority, held, under the statute, the executive committee was not a voluntary club or association, but an agency of the State, and that Nixon's exclusion was in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. Justices Butler, McReynolds, Sutherland and Van DeVanter contended that the statute did not create the Democratic Party as an agency of the State, but merely recognized its existence.

•Following the above decision, The Texas Democratic State Convention passed a resolution excluding Negroes from Democratic primaries, and its action was ratified by the State Executive

Committee. A Negro named White, sought to mandamus a county executive committee to permit him and other qualified Negroes to vote in the primaries. While the trial court declined to entertain the suit on the ground of a lack of jurisdiction, it did hold that under the statute the resolution was void, and that the convention acted as a State agency. The defendants contended that the powers of their party were inherent and not derived from the statute. The court rather shrewdly observed: "Unlike Moses, who refused to be known as the son of Pharaoh's daughter, the Democratic Party in Texas has, over a period of twenty-five years, chosen to be known as a child and agency of the state of Texas, abandoning its inherent powers and choosing to conduct its affairs under grants of power of the state."

In County Democratic Executive Committee v. Booker, the facts are similar to White's case, except Booker applied for an injunction. A Texas Civil Appeals Court by a two to one decision, dismissed the suit and held that under the statute, the actions of the county committee were those of a voluntary association and not those of an agency of the state, and that the committee had the right to exclude Negro voters. The all important question, whether in the absence of a statute, a political party in Texas can bar Negroes from its party primaries, remains yet to be determined. Very recently, a Texas Federal District Court in the case of Drake v. Executive Committee of Democratic Party, 2 F. Supp. 486 (1933), answered yes. The Negroes in Texas undoubtedly will carry this case to the Supreme Court.

In Powell v. Alabama, or "The Scottsboro Case," the nine defendants were indicted for rape, a capital offense under Alabama statutes, six days after the commission of the alleged acts, and were tried on the day they were indicted. The defendants, poor and illiterate, had procured no counsel, and no effectual appointment of counsel was made by the trial court until the day of the trial. No continuance was asked by counsel nor granted by the court. Defense counsel attempted no formal cross-examination of State witnesses. The defendants were speedily convicted. The Supreme Court by a seven to two decision held that this procedure was a violation of the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, since it was the duty of the court not only to appoint counsel for poor defendants in

capital cases, but also to allow reasonable time for defendants to prepare their case. Justices Butler and Mc-Reynolds in dissenting, contended that the defendants had been ably represented by counsel, and that the evidence from the record failed to show the lack of opportunity of the defendants to properly prepare their case.

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In the case of Downer v. Dunaway, Downer and another colored man were arrested and jailed as suspects of rape against a white woman. The jail was surrounded by a mob numbering between 1,000 and 1,500, who stormed it for six hours in efforts to take the accused. The accused were spirited to Atlanta for safekeeping. In the meantime the Governor had called out troops to protect the prisoners. The defendants were indicted one day, and convicted and sentenced to death the following day, at a trial beginning at ten o'clock in the morning and ending at ten o'clock that night. A Federal District court refused the condemned men a writ of habeas corpus. On appeal, the Circuit Court of Appeals reversed this judgment and remanded the case for rehearing, on the grounds that no motions were made for a change of venue, or for a continuance or a new trial, although the petitioners were tried in a court dominated by a mob and the petition for habeas corpus strongly indicated the innocence of the accused. On rehearing, the accused were set free under the writ. This case follows the rule laid down in Moore v. Dempsey, 261 U. S. 86 (1923), where the Supreme Court held that a trial for murder in a state court in which the accused are hurried to conviction under mob domination without regard to their rights, is without due process of law and absolutely void.

In Lee v. State, the defendant was convicted of murder in the first degree and sentenced to death. A part of the jury was drawn from the regular panel and a part from the court room. The practice during the twenty-six years of the trial judge in that jurisdiction was for him to select persons eligible for jury service from persons whom he knew, or came in contact with or from names suggested to him by his white friends. Hence, no Negroes were ever drawn to jury service. In reversing Lee's conviction, the appellate court held, that, although, the accused could not demand a jury composed partly or wholly of his own race, he was entitled to one from which his race was not ex-

(Will you please turn to page 214)

ALONG THE COLOR LINE

AMERICA

Fighting Fire

Traveling through fire and water, 100 colored members of the Civilian Conservation Corps, won high praise for their hardiness and fine work in fighting fire in the Black Cone Mountain, Santa Barbara National Forest, California. Fred H. Cowles, chairman of the fire prevention committee of the American Green Cross, who acted as state warden during the 8000 acre conflagration, commended particularly the high spirits of these youths from Indiana who went through the hottest part of the forest at the headwaters of Tassaiara creek, a region where there were rattlesnakes and mountain lions.

Swarthmore Conference

An Institute on Race Relations held at Swarthmore college under the auspices of the Committee of Race Relations of the Society of Friends, brought together during July, leaders and the foremost thinkers of both races in America. The conference which met to consider the social factors involved in the Negro-white relations in the United States, was attended by Dr. Will W. Alexander of Atlanta, president of Dillard University; Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of the CRISIS; Professor Ulrich B. Phillips of Yale University; Professor Melville Herskovits of Northwestern University; Donald Young of the Social Science Research Council, James Weldon Johnson, Broadus Mitchel and Mabel Carney.

"Epic of a Race"

A pageant portraying a century of progress of the Negro was staged at Soldier Field, Chicago, on August 12th national Negro day. The pageant was under the direction of Dr. Andrew Dobson, who has produced radio shows for WJJD, one of Chicago's great broadcasting stations for three years. Professor Edward Boatner of the Boston Conservatory of Music assisted with the musical arrangements and many prominent artists served.

Anthropologist

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The Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland has elected as fellow, Benjamin N. Azikiwe. M.S. of Lincoln University. Mr. Asikiwe is a member of the American Ethnological Society, the American Anthropological Association, the American Society of International Law, and the American Political Science Association. He is a native of Nigeria, West Africa.

Distinguished Students

Charles W. Thomas was elected to Phi Beta Kappa at Oberlin. Mr. Thomas was a member of Phi Kappa Pi, literary society for men, was President of the Oberlin Conference of Youth which met in May.



The Reverend Dr. Henry Hugh Proctor See page 212

1933, and was a member of the varsity debating team.

For the third summer, Miss Helen B. Smith has been elected to do research work in Zoology at the Koscoe B. Jackson Memorial Laboratory at Bar Harbor, Maine. Miss Smith was awarded the M.S. degree in Zoology at Howard in June.

Mr. William Talbot of the University of Pittsburgh has been awarded for the third time the graduate Council Scholarship in mathematics. Mr. Talbot has just been awarded his M.A. in mathematics. The first Master's Degree in English

The first Master's Degree in English from Atlanta University was awarded to Hugh Morris Gloster who maintained an average of A in all English courses taken.

average of A in all English courses taken. The degree of Doctor of Philosophy was awarded to Reverend M. L. Harris in Philosophy and Theoretical Physics by Ohio State University. Dean McPherson of the Graduate School publicly stated at a luncheon in honor of the candidates for the Ph.D. degree that Dr. Harris passed the best examination for the Doctorate that his department has had.

Mr. Clarence T. Mason was conferred the degree of Master of Science from McGill University, Montreal. Mr. Mason was a graduate assistant in the department of chemistry and has been offered a demonstratorship in the department of chemistry for the coming year.

The degree of Doctor of Philosophy has been conferred upon Louis K. McMillan by the University of Bonn in Germany. Dr. McMillan is a bachelor of theology from Yale University.

Harold E. James of Livingstone College graduated Summa Cum Laude with honors

as the best all around student and the College Scholarship prize for the member of the student body maintaining the highest average in scholarship.

Southern Jury

For the first time in over sixty years, a Negro sat on a jury in Chattanooga, Hamilton County, Tennessee. In a burglary case against a Negro, a jury of eleven white men, and R. C. Hawkins, colored retired mail carrier, were accepted by Judge Charles W. Lusk. Since no white restaurant would receive Mr. Hawkins, meals were served the jurymen in the jury room.

Negro Life and History Contest

Dr. Carter G. Woodson announces that manuscripts entered the contest being held by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History must reach his offices, 1528 Ninth St., N. W., Washington, D. C. before October 1, 1933. Articles must be at least 3000 words long. Book reviews must be at least 1000 words long. Articles and reviews (except those appearing in the current issues of the Journal of Negro History) must not have been previously published; books written by and of the judges may not be reviewed. The judges are Dr. Woodson, Professor Benjamin Brawley and Professor Lorenzo Turner.

ART

Grand Opera Triumph

Caterina Jarboro sang the title roles in the opera *Aida* with the Chicago Opera Company at the Hippodrome Theatre in New York City. The theatre which turned to grand opera after a lean theatrical season sold out all seats and available standing room at each appearance of Miss Jarboro. Caterina Jarboro came to the American opera stage with the plaudits of French and Italian directors. Her debut in May, 1930, in *Aida* at the Puccini Theatre, Milano, was followed by sixty successful appearances in European capitals. Maestro Alfredo Salmaggi, director of the Chicago Opera Company sponsored the performance. Jules Bledsoe sang the role of Amonasro, warrior-king and father of Aida.

"Gold Diggers"

Dominating the very elaborate scenes of the "Forgotten Man" number of Gold Diggers of 1933 is the singing of Etta Moten, stage star and graduate of the University of Kansas. When Careless. Ginger Roger's new picture is released, listen to Miss Moten singing "My Imaginary Sweetheart."

Theresa Hollis who has played minor roles in Hollywood movies has been signed by R-K-O pictures. For the production of *Tarzan and His Mate*, 300 colored extras, six feet tall, have been chosen.



Delegates to the 24th Annual Conference of the N. A. A. C. P.

Parade of Choristers

One thousand choir singers, chorus members and glee club celebrities paraded down South Parkway in Chicago preliminary to holding a concert given in the court of the Hall of Science at a Century of Progress. Congressman Oscar De-Priest, state senators and legislators, and other city officials and dignitaries accom-panied the choristers. George R. Garner, Jr., was guest soloist and James A. Mundy, director.

Outdoor Dance Recital

On the Lido Terrace in Harlem, Hemsley Winfield and his ballet, offered a program of modern dances and an in-terpretation of "Mood Indigo," "Black and Tan Lady" and "Sophisticated Lady" by Duke Ellington. Selective numbers by Burleigh and William Still and original dances were presented.

Over the Air

Catherine "Kay" Parker is soloist with the Sirens of Song who broadcast over WOR every Sunday at four o'clock.

SCHOOLS

Cornell Summer Session

There were thirty-five Negro students enrolled in the summer session of Cornell University. Of these students, there were seven Land Grant College presidents: Dr. M. F. Whitaker, South Carolina State College; Dr. J. F. Drake, Alabama State College; Dr. J. B. Watson, A. M. & N. College, Dine Bluff, Arkansas; Dr. R. S. Grossley, Delaware State College; Dr. J. R. E. Lee, Florida State College; Dr. J. M. Gandy, Virginia State College, Sr.; W. R. Banks, Prairie View College, Texas.

Howard University

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Part of the exhibit of the United States Government at the Century of Progress Exposition, Chicago, is a Bal-Optican exhibit, showing 70 slides of various activities of Howard University. The slides run continuously with 11-second showings Views of significant activities of Howard University are shown.

Gifts .

To Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute has been given \$5,000 from the will of the late Horace H. Rackham.

From the estate of the Late Ella E. Russell bequests of \$5,000 each have been made Hampton Institute and the St. Paul Normal School, Lawrenceville, Va.

President of Talladega

Rev. Oscar E. Maurer, chairman of the board of trustees of Talladega College, Alabama, announces the election of Rev. Buell G. Gallagher of New Jersey to the presidency of the college. President Gallagher is white.

Western University

The Industrial Department at Western University under the direct management of the State of Kansas has announced an enlarged program for the 1933-34 school year. Directed by W. T. Vernon, the school offers courses academic and industrial, a complete four year high school course and two years of college work.

Editing Project

Students of the Dunbar High School, Lexington, Ky., have cooperated to make their high school annual a success. Students in the commercial department mimeographed the publication, made the cuts and pasted the pictures into the magazine by hand. Photographs from which the cuts were made are also student products.

Atlanta U. Fund

Atlanta University has been named a residuary legatee of the estate of the late Anna Phillips Williams of Boston, Mass. The fund left to Atlanta University is to be a permanent fund known as the John C. and Hannah W. Phillips Fund, in memory of Mrs. Williams' parents.

The Results of Barring Negro Teachers

In San Diego, no Negro teachers are employed in the public school system. In recent ratings of racial groups, Negro children were placed in lists to the lowest level. Few of them have the courage to finish high school, and colored students are strongly advised not to qualify as teachers. Only two Negro graduates of the high school have ever finished college, out of a population of 7,000 Negroes. Mrs. Minnie L. Brown was so impressed that Negro teachers were needed, that she finished her college course and applied for a position in the city public schools.

"Very soon, I was called to the office by the head of the bureau and was told that the information to the class was not meant for me; that I should have had better sense than to have sent in the application. I was also told to take the application and go to the treasury for the two dollars.

"'We can get you a job in Texas, if you want it, but not in San Diego,' he further asserted.

"'Why don't you send the application to the School board and let it be turned down by them?' I asked. "'I'm not going to do it,' came the

angry reply.

"'Well, I'll take it and send it in myself.' I affirmed.

"If you do, you will just make a fool of yourself,' he growled. "After several months, I did succeed in

getting my application before the board with the understanding that it would be considered if ever there were colored schools in San Diego."

Emergency in Education

The meager facilities for education of the Negro child have been again stated in a text prepared by Dr. Ambrose Caliver. Senior Specialist in the Education of Negroes, Federal Office of Education, for the Joint Commission on the Emergency in Education. Dr. Caliver points out that the average term in schools for Negroes is only four-fifths as long as that for whites Dr. Willis N. Huggins Ph.D. Fordham

T. Mason MS McGill

and that the shortness of the school term of Negro children in rural communities is reflected in the excessive retardation of the children. The class-size for colored children was on the average 50 per cent greater than that for white schools in the year 1929-30. Transportation was afforded only I per cent of the 44,000 pupils studied, and while \$200 was spent in one state for the transportation of Negro pupils, the sum of \$1,053,649 was spent for the transportation of white pupils. Reductions in the teaching forces and in their salaries caused further discrepancies in the number of Negroes of school age and in the provisions for their education.

WORK. WASTE AND WEALTH

Incorporated Company

The Reed Gas Brake Company has been incorporated under the laws of the State of Massachusetts for \$50,000 with Arthur W. Reed, president, Hillar Shepard, vice-president; William Waters, treasurer, and Anna Montague, secretary. The brake is an invention of Mr. Reed and operates from the power obtained from the burned motor gasses taken from the top of the combustion chamber.

Prospecting for Gold

When Robert Board, 61-year old grubstaker became lost at the edge of the Royal gorge, the surface formation of the unfamiliar region caught his eye. Digging, he found ore samples which assaved \$80 a ton and more. Once the news was heard, the trails to Copper Gulch, Colorado, were beaten by miners and overnight all ground within a few miles of Board's camp were staked out.

MR. JAMES CROW

Public Library

Colored residents of Havre de Grace, Maryland, have been denied the privileges which the city's library affords. Insistent protest on the part of citizens caused the City Council to offer Negroes aid in establishing a library for their exclusive use. Colored citizens refuse to compromise and continue to demand entrance to the better equipped institution which public taxes support.

September, 1933

Phi Beta Kappa Oberlin

Traveling to the Fair

The 9-day all-expense tours conducted Visitor's Tourist Service, New by the York City, to the World Fair in Chicago, prints on the back of its expense coupon book: "Void if issued to other than Caucasians." Endorsing the tour are A Century of Progress Exposition, the Chi-cago City Council, and the mayor of Chicago.

Lynching Bees

Records compiled at Tuskegee Institute list six lynchings for the first six months of 1933. During these months there were fourteen instances in which officers of the law prevented lynchings; in nine instances the prisoners were removed or the guards augmented. In the other five instances force was used to prevent death at the hands of mobs. Of the lynched persons four were Negroes. The lynchings oc-curred in Georgia, 1; Louisiana, 2; Tennessee, 2; Texas, 1.

In South Carolina, Morris Benton, son of a prosperous Negro farmer of Clinton, was taken from the unguarded town jail by four white men. Of his death, Governor Blackwood said: "That's not a lynching. It's a brutal murder." Bendy was charged with striking a white truck driver and with resisting arrest.

The Negro Vote

The Virginia Quarterly Review for April, 1933, published an article by R. Charleton Wright: "Thus far, for some sixty years, we

have muddled through, though at the tragic cost of thousands of lynchings, numerous race riots, and many acts of glaring injustice and inhumanity to the Negro, which have indelibly stained the annals of the South. It has been our luck, and the Negro's poverty, plus his economic and political impotence, rather than our wisdom or statesmanship, that have enabled us to pull along as well as we have. Aside from the invaluable work of the progressive members of both races composing the Commission for Interracial Co-operation, and similar groups, the newly formed Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, and some of the churches, I know of no Southern programs of general scope for constructive working, planning, or

even thinking, in relation to the problem. By and large, the public is apathetic. Liberal newspapers, of course, carry on as usual, and get freely 'cussed' by cheap politicians.

"Racial prejudices and hates are surefire vote getters, and the politicians have not failed to capitalize human weaknesses to purchase the spoils of office. To them we can ascribe the lag in Negro education, maladministration of justice, most of the lynching sentiment, immunity of lynchers, and many other vicious practices that have retarded the Southern Negro, and, by their inevitable flarebacks, de-bauched the Southern white mass-man. The 'proud Southerner' can only bow his head in shame that there is a chapter in his history about which an impartial British historian could write: 'In some parts of the South a white man would run very little more chance of being hung for the murder of a Negro than a Mussulman in Turkey for the murder of a Christian.

"In contrast with our lack of positive programs-for they have been almost exclusively negative-the Negro, on the higher levels of the race, especially in the North, is well organized for advancement. He has assumed the offensive en bloc, and is no longer content with the crumbs that dtop from the white man's table. He is assertive, and demands the recognition and equality of opportunity promised by the law of the land.

"It is notorious that the Negro is becoming educated. He is acquiring property. He is developing in race and group consciousness. Every year he approaches more nearly to the standards that will enable him to meet every suffrage test imposed by the South. Forward thinking Southern men are asking themselves what will happen when that time arrives. What will the South do? It has exhausted every legitimate expedient to bar the race from its politics. Foresight suggests it would be wise for us to be forearmed against the event; that it would profit us to endeavor to make a political ally of the Negro and divorce him from our political adversaries."

Swimming in Pools

At the opening of a new city pool in Tucson, Arizona, Negroes who had come to swim were told that the pool was for



Charles Walker Thomas

Walter R. Talbot M.A. Pittsburgh

Lewis McMillan Ph.D. Bonn

the use of whites and Mexicans. One youth dived into the pool and was followed by others. To prevent a riot, officials allowed the boys to swim unmolested. Citizens protested the segregation at mass meetings and to the park commission and city council. They were at last offered the exclusive use of the pool every fourth day of the week. There are four swimming pools in the city, all of which bar Negroes.

Consult the Dictionary

Funk & Wagnall's compreheusive standard dictionary lists the word "nigger" and defines it as: "I. A negro; now vulgar. 2. (Colloq.) A native East-Indian, or an Australian aborigine. 3. One of several mechanical devices." The dictionary does not define or list "wop," "sheeny" or "dago."

Brooklyn Property

R. Lincoln Bernstein, deputy tax commissioner for Brooklyn, N. Y., when interviewed by the *Herald-Tribune* expressed sorrow that the 75,000 Negroes in the borough had not segregated themselves into compact sections as they have in Harlem. "It is too late now," he is quoted as saying, "to pass an ordinance segregating them into districts because they have spread out so much that the consolidation of their holdings into segregated areas would mean turning over too much property to them." The N.A.A.C.P. also informed Mr. Bernstein of the illegality of such an ordinance.

N. A. A. C. P.

In Denver

A recent membership drive in Denver successfully closed with a net total of \$700. E. E. Carrington, Drive Colonel, was also in charge of plans for the August quadrennial convention of the American Woodmen Fraternal Insu: ance Co., of which Mr. Carrington is Supreme Auditor. Mr. Carrington has been connected with that organization for the past 18 years. He is a staunch worker in the N. A. A. C. P. and a member of the committee of management of the Glenarm Branch of the Y. M. C. A.

SPORTS

Golf Crowns

A former caddy, Howard Anderson of Westfield, New Jersey, won the eastern open golf championship with 280 for the 72 holes over the course of the Colored Shady Rest Country Club.

In Atlanta, Howard Wheeler won the title in the southern open golf tournament at the Lincoln Country Club with a par round of 69 that gave him a 72-hole total of 273.

Track and Field

At the A. A. U. annual track and field meet at Soldiers Field, colored Cornelius Johnson of Los Angeles defeated George Spitz, Olympic champion of the high jump. Dark Jimmy Johnson defeated Jesse Owens of Cleveland twice in the too-meter junior title race. Neither of the winners had been slated for victory.





Three Fashion Exhibits at the West African Dress Factory Show, Lagos, Nigeria

AWARDS

A Rosenwald fellowship in music to Mrs. Albert W. Dent for study at Oberlin College. Mrs. Dent is a graduate of the Oberlin College Conservatory of Music, a member of Pi Kappa Lambda, honorary music society, and was a Fellow in music at the Julliard Foundation.

The Ella Sachs Plotz Fellowship for study at the New York School of Social Work to Charles Blake of White Plains, New York. Mr. Blake graduated from Wesleyan College in June with Phi Beta Kappa distinction and honors in languages. To Miss Mildred D. Moore of Oberlin College was awarded an Ella Sachs Plotz Fellowship, also by the Urban League, for study at the Carola Woerishhoffer Graduate School of Bryn Mawr College.

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To Miss Thyra Edwards of Chicago and Brookwood, a scholarship at the International People's College in Denmark.

A one year scholarship at the University of Chicago for study in religious or social service administration, to Miss Jessie Pharr of Detroit.

The Muriel Williard scholarship to Miss Dorothy Mae Wallace of New York City for study in costume designing at Pratt Institute.

To William Stansbury of Media, Pennsylvania, a senatorial scholarship to Temple University.

A four year scholarship to J. Leonard Farmer, Jr., of Atlanta, thirteen-year-old winner in the Elks Regional Oratorical contest. A scholarship to college, first prize in the Elks contest to Miss Dorothy Goodman of Atlantic City.

Appointment as medical inspector at Rockaway Beach to Dr. Furman M. Jones of New York City. Appointment as health area guide of

Appointment as health area guide of the Russell Sage Foundation Library's bureau of research, social service department, to Miss Rebecca Spuilock.

ment, to Miss Rebecca Spullock. To Dave S. Ware, Fayetteville, West Virginia politician, appointment as assistant director of the Bureau of Mines in the Mountain State.

The Yangtze medal for meritorious service during the uprising in the Yangtze Valley, China, in 1925-26 to Robert Owen Gavin.

Within the year, six gold medals have been awarded Mr. J. J. Quarles of Tuskegee Institute, by the Photographic Associations, for excellence in photography.

To Philip Briscoe, truck driver of the Washington Evening Star, a "No Accident Driver's Award" of the National Safety Council for three years' perfect driving. Only 38 of the three year awards have been granted to drivers in the United States.

The Soldier's Medal, highest peace-time honor bestowed by the army, to Corporal Peter Hardley, Jr.

To Cecie E. Lester of Buffalo, New York, one of the nine gold pins awarded by the Buffalo Museum of Science for after school activities of children. Last year Miss Lester received the silver medal. She is one of the twelve directors of the Roosevelt Field Club and secretary of the Junior Hobbies Club of the museum. Her brother, John, Jr., received a silver medal.

First honors to William M. Jordan, Jr., of Gillespie Normal School, Cardela, Ga., in the graduating class.

AFRICA

Co-operation vs. Exploitation

A little over fifty years ago, Tetseh Quarshie, who had been working on the island of Fernando Po and had seen the intensive cultivation of cocca trees there, returned to the Gold Coast and distributed cocca seedlings among his relatives. This was the beginning of the most important

The Crisis



industry of the Gold Coast which today supplies half the world's demand for cocoa, having steadily exported during the past five years 230,000 tons per annum. Under cultivation are 900,000 acres of land, almost exclusively held in the hands of the native population, and engaging 150,000 Negro farmers in cocoa production. Planters establishing plantations on land belonging to their own stool pay no actual rent, but contribute to the stool funds and help in the maintenance of village works.

The average size of a plantation is acknowledged to be four acres but recent statistics show that in the central productive area, southeastern Ashanti, 1,299 of the 2,184 plantations measured less than one acre, 476 measured between one and two acres, and only fifteen measured over Io acres.

Until recently most of the profits of the industry went to the many middlemen who handled and marketed the crops. In 1918 there were formed in Ashanti, three cooperative societies which today are the most prosperous of the registered societies. The majority of farmers and chiefs have consolidated their interests in the formation of a central co-operative selling organization, "The Gold Coast and Ashanti Cocoa Federation Trust," capitalized at £200,000, all of which has been subscribed by the paramount chiefs and large cocoa farmers. To still further reduce costs between the growing and marketing of their cocoa, cooperative societies and farmers controlled by the Federation Trust are creating a sales organization with head-quarters in London. The price of cocoa has so decreased as to reduce the farmer's purchasing power by 50%, the annual output once valued at £11,000,000 having fallen to about £5,000,000. The control of the sale of the cocoa from the Gold Coast will enable the farmers to obtain a fair and economic price for his produce.

Native Authority

The Nyasaland Legislative Council of East Africa has passed the Native Authority Bill which will give the inhabitants self-governing powers, but also ensures that their activities will be centrally directed. The authorities will be under the control of the Government and will exercise no authority over non-natives. The Native Courts Bill is supplementary

The Native Courts Bill is supplementary to the Authority Bill and provides for the establishment of native courts, both civil and criminal. Jurisdiction is limited to cases in which both plaintiff and defendant are natives. Provision for appeal from the native courts to a final court of appeal within the Protectorate is made.

Achimota

Norman Leys says: "Achimota is, after all, at present a secondary school, though to fulfill the ideas of its founder and to justify itself it must aspire to university standard. As regards its personnel, it is easy to condemn the college as overstaffed, if one judges by the small far too small—staffs of the mission schools, but judged by the educational standard of other countries, it is not overstaffed at all. For an embryo university, indeed, the staff is inadequate.

"Racial relationships inside Achimota

September, 1933

are extremely happy, and I met at the college Mt. Ajayi, who was recently so scurvily treated by the passport authorities in this country. He is by no means discouraged in his efforts for further education, and, which speaks highly for the atmosphere of Achimota, he shows none of the suspicion of European motives that he might pardonably have assumed."

WEST INDIES

West Indian Federation

In March, the West Indian Federation of America was organized having as its immediate objectives: to advocate the early federation of, and self-government for, the British West Indies, British Guiana, British Honduras, Bermuda, and the Bahama Islands within the British Commonwealth of Nations; to stimulate among British West Indians in America a keen interest in West Indian affairs, particularly in the development of the political, economic, educational, and social conditions in the Homeland and to foster among West Indians and Afro-Americans the development of such industrial and commercial enterprises as may be considered necessary for the economic welfare of the group.

Panama Ganal

The Cristobal Silver Club, Cristobol, has recently closed another year's successful activity in the community. The Club has provided entertainment, recreation, athletics, and study direction for the many colored adults and children who live in the Canal Zone.

DIED

Paramount Chief Ngangomhlaba of the Gcaleka, South Africa.

Nathan B. Young, former president of the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College at Tallahassee, Florida.

Mary E. James of Cambridge, Mass., founder of the Golden Rule Club, and remembered as the "Grand Old Woman of the Equal Rights League."

Russell C. Atkins, director of the agriculture department of Tuskegee Institute and acting vice-principal, of a wound inflicted by a deranged man.

Maud Christian of Dominica, B. W. I., in Secondi, West Africa, where she was a nurse in the Children's Clinic.



Chiefs from Portuguese Africa visit Lisbon, 1933

ostscript 4 M.E.D. Dudous

NIRA AND THE NEGRO

MANY colored people are asking just what the National Industrial Recovery Act is and how it is going to affect the American Negro and his chance to earn a living.

Briefly put, this law allows employers in every branch of industry to get together and agree on codes of fair competition, so as to eliminate under-cutting in prices; thus the Sherman Anti-Trust Act is nullified. In addition, the employers must grant employees the right to organize into unions. Minimum wages and maximum hours must be specified and when this procedure is approved by the President it becomes law, and violations of the law may be punished. The President appoints a general administrator to supervise all industry and three advisory boards which will represent industry, labor and the consumer.

Three billion, three hundred million dollars is to be borrowed for public works. Of this four hundred million is for highways, fifty million for forestry and twenty-five million to homesteaders. These sums are to be repaid by increase in taxes. The law will last for two years but will undoubtedly be extended.

The provisions will be enforced by the employers' committee and by labor where it is organized, but where there is no organized labor, there is no provision to enforce the Act. Labor has no part in drafting codes and the government will take no steps toward organizing labor. It must organize itself.

What will the effect of this law be? It will increase employment so that instead of having ten million idle, we may have, in the course of a year, seven million, five hundred thousand idle. It will increase the wages of about two and a half million who are at work but it will not abolish unemployment, nor will it increase the general level of wages. Unorganized workers, as most of the Negroes are, may derive some benefit from the Act, but not much and these low paid, unprotected, unorganized black men will continue to compete for the jobs of better paid and organized labor.

The law on this will be administered from the point of view of the great employer and even so far as labor is

concerned, men like Frey and Green, the President of the A. F. of L., are known for their opposition and at best "donothing policy" with regard to black labor.

The labor of children under fourteen is forbidden under this law but this will not apply to Negro children in agriculture. In the meantime, prices are going to rise more rapidly than wages. Thus, Nira is a step either toward Socialism or Fascism. It is a beginning toward the government control of industry but the control is not in the interest of labor and it may be controlled primarily in the interest of capitalism.

PROCTOR

NE of the first men I met, when I came to Fisk in 1887 was Henry Hugh Proctor, a long lanky youth with whom I was always in cheerful chaffing and controversy. Our types of thinking were then and always quite different-our beliefs and methods. But he grew into a strong and forceful man and dying before his day, left a mark on the world. He was an evangelical Christian so honestly orthodox that any question of fundamental truth never entered his mind. So sure to him was its foundation that he could play with it, compromise for it, adapt it to circumstances, perfectly and eternally certain of ultimate right. To the skeptic, therefore, the natural questioner and heretic, Proctor was anathema. But to the doer of the Word he was a strong Tower. He spared neither his strength nor money in his life work and was supremely indifferent to mere matters of income and expense.

His great work was the community church in Atlanta, perhaps the first and certainly one of the most successful in Colored America. He put in a life work there and then essayed a larger field in Brooklyn. But neither the time of his coming nor the character of this community was suited to his plans. Old Brooklyn is ever cold to the stranger and suspicious. Yet he was ever at the edge of a new great triumph. He became moderator of the Congregational-ists; he was a close friend of S. Parks Cadman ; he was seriously considered as president of Fisk university; but he fell victim of the Depression before his new effort was thoroughly established. His

earnest strength will leave a memory for men.

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GOD, DAMNED AND HELL SERIOUS-MINDED white minister of Boston, the Reverend George L. Paine, writes us:

"I enjoy your magazine all except what looks like a boy trying to appear sophisticated and hence using "tough" words. I don't think such words as I have underlined add anything to the force and certainly detract from both style and dignity,—and to some people they are a distinct offense."

The words underlined are, "My God!", "hell," "damned" and "Thank God!"

Will our friend pardon me for repeating them all here and now and asking him how he would preach a sermon without this vocabulary?

FROM THE DEEP SOUTH

I HAVE always got more information about the things of my own home country from you than I can ever hear in South Caroliña.

They have a movement on now, I don't really understand. They want every farmer who will to plow up a certain amount of cotton in order to boost the price and if he is not willing to plow it up, they are taking his name and address.

In North Carolina, I have been told by a good citizen here (white) that the Ku Klux have started to whipping men for refusing to plow it up.

Today, I am writing for one of your CRISIS that I might better understand the movement. Indications seem that the colored man in the South is going to be driven about like a dog under this administration.

One of the cotton movement committee men came to my shop and told re that the government had authorized them to get my name and address and reason why I wouldn't sign to plow up my cotton. I gave him the reason.

NEGRO ART AND ITS CRITICS OLIN DOWNES, music critic of the New York Times, writes us:

I have read with much interest your editorial concerning some paragraphs of mine which I wrote after hearing the Fisk University Choir.

The Crisis

I think you misunderstand my attitude towards Negro music. I am not at all one of the academicians or musical snobs who feel that Negro music has a limited field of expression, or that the Negro has no future creative possibility in music outside of his folk melodies and popular dance material. Quite the contrary.

It is precisely because I have such faith and admiration for the musical resources of the Negro that I protest against what I consider the unsympathetic and high-handed attempt to instruct him after the musical conventions of the whites; to advise or compel him to imitate these conventions and in this way to influence him to exchange his extraordinary artistic birthright for a mess of foreign pottage.

I do not think that the average white musician either understands or appreciates the musical perceptions and the special artistic sense of the Negro. I do not believe that the Negro will fully express himself in music until he develops teachers of his own race.

The presumption that I believe, in your words, "that Negroes must not be allowed to attempt anything more than the frenzy of the primitive, religious revival" is entirely erroneous.

I think that the racial genius which created the spirituals and which has been probably the predominant element in the development of a form of American music which has made triumphant progress over the whole world, is a very great and potent thing. And I think that if Negro composers should make the great mistake of trying to create music as if they were Germans or Italians, or descendants of these races, it would be as misguided as Beethoven or Brahms would have been had they chosen to forget the folk music of their own race when they composed symphonies, or Verdi would have been if in writing operas he had endeavoured to forget that first and last he was the great musical prophet of his people.

I think that the music of the Negro is a much greater thing than the hybrid and artificial offering which misrepresented it and them in Carnegie Hall.

It is because I feel strongly on these topics, and because I have great admiration for Negro music and faith in its future, that I will ask you to be so kind as to publish this letter.

THE IGNORANT NEGRO CHILD

W^E have before us figures of stracted from official United States statistics by Teachers College, Columbia University.

Population:

Negro population in U. S.	
(9.7% of total)	11,891,143
Urban Negro population	5,193,913
Village Negro population	2,016,707
Farm Negro population	4,680,523

September, 1933

Illiteracy:

Rate of illiteracy in Negro

population	per cent
Rate of illiteracy in native	
white population	per cent
Rate of illiteracy in for-	

eign-born population .. 9.9 per cent

Negro children and youth	a chine
(ages 5-20)	4,128,998
Number attending school (60 per cent)	2,477,311
Per cent of whites attend-	
ing school	71.8 per cent
Negro children (5 to 20	
years of age) attending	
school from farms	1,174,826
(58.2%) Negro children attending	1,1/4,020
in cities (64%)	916,727
Negro children attending	
in villages (56.7%)	385,758
ypes of Schools:	

- Total number of Negro schools 24,079 One-teacher buildings (63.8
- per cent) Two-teacher buildings (18.8 15,358 4,525
- of all Negro school buildings 82.6 per cent are of the oneand two-teacher type,
- Availability of schools:

Many Negro schools are badly overcrowded and in rural districts Negro children frequently walk excessive distances to school. Pupils per teacher in all schools, 30; in Negro schools, 45. It has been estimated in general that 5,990 addi-tional classrooms are needed for Negro children.

High schools are especially needed. In 1020 Leo M. Favrot found 282 counties in the South having 12.5 per cent or more Negro population without high schools for colored youth. Great progress has been made in the provision of high schools, however, the number having increased from 64 in 1916 to 831 in 1928.

School Term:

School term in white schools

(8 mo.) 162 days School term in Negro schools

132 days (6½ mo.) Average number days attend-

ed (white) 128 days Average number days attend-

ed (Negro) 97 days

Retardation:

Enrollment in first grade: white

- Enrollment in third grade: white 11.5%, Negro . . 12.8%
- Enrollment in fourth grade:
- white 10.7%, Negro 11.3% Enrollment in eighth grade:
- white 4.1%, Negro 1.6% Enrollment in fourth year H. S.:

white 2.5%, Negro6% Of all Negro children in school 73.2 per cent are in the first four grades. Same figure for white schools is 53.1 per cent.

Teachers in Negro Schools:

In 1929-30 the 15 Southern states, exclusive of Delaware and West Virginia,

employed 47,426 certified Negro teachers. Of these 15,358 were in one-teacher rural schools and 9,050 in two-teacher schools, making a total of 24,408 or more than 50 per cent in schools of the one-

and two-teacher type. The level of training for the 47,426 Negro teachers of the South at this time was as follows:

- a. Number having less than high
- school training b. Number having less than two 18,130
- years college training.... 9.431 Number having two years' col-
- lege training or equivalent. 15,443 d. Number having B. S. degree or equivalent

4,422

47,426

In 1930 the median teacher of oneteacher Negro schools received an annual salary of \$314. For this sum she taught a total of 123 days (6 months). Her education covered about two years and six months above the elementary school and her teaching experience totaled about four vears.

The median teacher of one-teacher rural schools (white) for the same year was a young woman about 23 years of age who was paid an annual salary of \$883. For this sum she worked 162 days (8 months); her education was high school graduation plus attendance at one summer school; and her teaching experience totaled two years and six months.

Supervision:

Supervisors for Negro rural schools are known as Jeanes Agents, being named from the Anna T. Jeanes Foundation which aids this work. In general these supervisors are financed about half from public funds and half from the Jeanes Fund. Their work is outstanding and is being imitated in Africa and other undeveloped areas. Unfortunately, however, only 351 counties in the South have such workers while 306 other counties with heavy Negro school population are going practically unsupervised.

To this should be added that the program of the Jeanes supervisors is in crying need of supervision. Cleaning yards and cooking should not keep country children from learning to read and write.

Expenditure:

The average expenditure per pupil enrolled for white and colored children in the chief Southern states was as follows, for the year 1930:

State	White	Negro
Alabama	36.43	10.09
Arkansas	38.15	13.02
Florida	57.16	14-45
Georgia	35.42	6,38
Louisiana	67.47	16.54
Maryland	64.86	43.16
Mississippi	45.34	5-45
North Carolina	40.07	15.71
Oklahoma	43.86	34.25
South Carolina	60.06	7.84
Texas	38.76	16.02

From the foregoing figures it will be seen that the educational opportunity of (Will you please turn to page 214)

Negro children measured by expenditure ranges from about one-half to one-ninth of that for white children. (Except for Maryland and Oklahoma.)

The average current expenditure per pupil enrolled for the United States as a whole in 1929-30 was \$87.22 per child. The average expenditure per white child enrolled in the Southern states for the same year was \$44.31. For Negro children the comparative figure was \$12.57.

And here come good Northern excuses for the poor South: "For the United States as a whole the per capita wealth in 1930 was \$3,088. For the North and West or Non-South it was \$3,609. But for the South it was only \$1,785." This is just half-true. The South is poorer than the North, but this is no excuse for stealing funds from Negro laborers and giving it to the whites; nor does it justify the ruinous expense of a double school system. The leaflet concludes:

"From this it is evident that the only adequate solution of the Negro education problem must come through FEDERAL AID under which all parts of the country would share more equitably in this large responsibility."

To which we wish the writer had had the courage to add: This Federal aid must be so administered as to make discrimination in its expenditure on account of race, color or wealth forever impossible.

"POWAH"

(Continued from page 205)

tered the Union Station at New Orleans bound for Chicago he was possessed of that feeling which comes from the consciousness of work well done. He had a drawing-room on the Panama Limited. No, drawing rooms on the Pan are not the rule for people of Kay's race; but he, Kay, had "powah." A friend of his, a doctor, had arranged it. Simple if you know some one who knows someone. Power, eh? Kay smiled, remembering "that old ass of a Deacon Brown.'

In the station, Charles Dawson. "Hello, luck, whither bound?"

"Chicago."

"Fine. So am I. Got a drawing room. Ride with me." On the train "Fine. Kay commented on Dawson's demeanor. "S'matter, old man, you're not exactly up to snuff, are you?"

"Not exactly, I lost my job."

"What !"

"Just so."

"But man, you were doing wonders with that job."

"Sure, Charlie the miracle man; that's me." "What happened?"

"Too many wonders, I guess." "Who said so?"

"White folks. Said I was teaching

Negroes to feel as if they were as good

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as anybody. Said the right thinking Negroes didn't like my style."

'Right thinking? Like whom?"

"Deacon Brown for one."

"Oh."

"Sure, they gave my job to his son, somebody who knows his place. Couldn't have 'neegers' around saying 'aren't' and the like, just couldn't.'

"Has he, the son, any particular qualifications for such a position?

"Oh sure; plenty; finished my school last year-High School, you know. Then, he doesn't believe in bathing or changing his socks. He'll get on. His father has power.

"Oh !"

A long silence. Smoke. Bob's idea gain. "Two kinds of lynching." again. Comforting Charles, Kay promised to introduce him to several people who probably could and would help him.

Supper in the diner on the first call. Icy stares from southern whites. His affected nonchalance. Charles' resentful bravado. Whirring into the night. Sleep.

Chicago again! The gang! The mad hurrying, pulsating splendor of it all! Again razzberries: "Lo, Kay still all! Again razzberries: "Lo, Kay still alive and kicking." "Well, well, no rope prints on his neck! Kay's O. K., gang." Bob, punning again. Convocation! At Evanston, at the Midway. Congratulations!

Dining with Bob in their favorite cafe one evening a week later. "Well, Kay, what's the lown down on lynch-ing?"

"That's it, Bob. It's all low down."

Playfully Bob replied, "Well, Mister, I am willing to take your estimate of it as the last word. Any fellow who earns the privilege of doing his Doctor's work without fear of finance as a result of his study of lynching is an authority from my standpoint.'

"Nice of you to say that, very nice." Silence. Eating. Smoke.

"Really, old man, it was great workwhy so morose?"

"Listen, Bob, you don't know the half of it. Remember what you said the morning I left about lynching; you remember?"

"I said a lot of things I suppose. Forget them. All of them were probably sophomoric utterances at best."

"But they weren't so sophomoric, Bob. Lynching isn't the worst evil of the South."

"Page out of Yates?"

"Yes, page out of Yates. Page out of Drew. In the South, Bob, there are two kinds of lynching inflicted upon the Negro. One is inflicted by whites, it's sudden, it's physical; the other is inflicted upon Negroes by each other. It is bred of envy, malice, and deceit— eats at the soul like the rope about the neck." "Remembering Dawson, Kay?"

"Remembering Dawson, Bob."

"Well, perhaps the years will anni-hilate each tendency, whatever its kind, as they pass.'

"Perhaps."

Smoke. Silence. Kay was North again.

COURTS

(Continued from page 206)

cluded because of race or color, and the custom prevailing amounted to an unconstitutional exclusion of Negroes from jury service. The general rule in such cases was clearly expressed by Mr. Justice Gray in Carter v. Texas, 177 U. S. 442 (1900), where he said, that the exclusion by a state by legislative, judicial or executive action, of persons from jury service on account of race or color, violates the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. (To be concluded in October CRISIS)

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